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PROCEEDINGS

OF

The Bostonian
Society

Annual Meeting, *January 17, 1961*



Boston

OLD STATE HOUSE

1961

490

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Officers of the Bostonian Society, 1881-1961 | vi |
| Officers and Committees as of July 1, 1961 | x |
| Proceedings | 3 |
| James Otis and the Writs of Assistance, by Clifford Kenyon Shipton, Director of the American Antiquarian Society | 17 |
| Memoir of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, by Harrison Gray, edited by Louis Leonard Tucker, Director of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio | 26 |
| Membership List | 49 |
| Deaths | 71 |
| A Message to Members | 72 |
| Gifts and Bequests | 73 |

Illustrations

Following page 12

Oil sketches for the Bunker Hill Cyclorama by L. Kowalsky

Bunker Hill Cyclorama Building

Key to the Bunker Hill Cyclorama

Bunker Hill Cyclorama

Contents

| | |
|----|---|
| vi | Officers of the Bostonian Society, 1881-1961 |
| x | Officers and Committees as of July 1, 1961 |
| 3 | Proceedings |
| | James Otis and the Writ of Assistance, by Clifford Ken- |
| | yon Shipston, Director of the American Antiquarian |
| 17 | Society |
| | Memoir of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, by Harrison Gray, |
| | edited by Louis Leonard Tucker, Director of the His- |
| 26 | torical and Philosophical Society of Ohio |
| 49 | Membership List |
| 71 | Deaths |
| 72 | A Message to Members |
| 73 | Gifts and Bequests |

Illustrations

Following page 12

- Oil sketches for the Bunker Hill Centennial by J. Kowalsky
- Bunker Hill Centennial Building
- Key to the Bunker Hill Centennial
- Bunker Hill Centennial

Proceedings of
The Bostonian Society

Committee on Publications

• • •

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, *Chairman*

DAVID McCORD

ELLIOTT PERKINS

EBENEZER GAY

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN

BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Secretary*

Officers of THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY

Since Its Organization

President Emeritus

*GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, 1932-1937

Presidents

*CURTIS GUILD, 1881-1906

*JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, 1907-1910

*GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, 1911-1932

*COURTENAY GUILD, 1932-1946

*FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR., 1946-1950

*AUGUSTUS P. LORING, JR., 1951

*T. TEMPLE POND, 1952-1960

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN, 1960-

Vice-Presidents

*FRANCIS H. MANNING, 1907-1922

*COURTENAY GUILD, 1923-1932

*GEORGE KUHN CLARKE, 1932-1941

*FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR., 1942-1946

*JAMES M. HUNNEWELL, 1946-1950

*T. TEMPLE POND, 1960-1961

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN, 1952-1960

AUGUSTUS P. LORING, 1961-

Clerks and Treasurers

*SAMUEL M. QUINCY, 1881-1884

*JAMES M. HUBBARD, 1884-1885

*DANIEL T. V. HUNTOON, 1885-1886

*WILLIAM C. BURRAGE, 1886-1890

*S. ARTHUR BENT, 1890-1899

*CHARLES F. READ, 1899-1932

* Deceased.

Officers of the Society

vii

Clerks

*GEORGE R. MARVIN, 1932-1937

*JAMES L. BRUCE, 1937-1958

Secretary

BARRETT WILLIAMS, 1958-

Treasurers

FRANCIS E. SMITH, 1932-1947.

FREDERICK M. KIMBALL, 1948-1949

RALPH M. EASTMAN, 1950-1955

WILLIAM B. OSGOOD, 1956-

Directors

*THOMAS J. ALLEN, 1886-1887

*THOMAS C. AMORY, 1884-1889

*WILLIAM S. APPLETON, 1884-1894

*WILLIAM H. BALDWIN, 1884-1896

*S. ARTHUR BENT, 1890

*ROBERT R. BISHOP, 1882-1884

*JOSHUA P. L. BODFISH, 1885-1914

MARK BORTMAN, 1950-

ELLERTON J. BREHAUT, 1946-1947

*FRANCIS H. BROWN, 1911-1917

*GEORGE O. CARPENTER, 1888-1896

*BENJAMIN C. CLARK, 1890-1906

*GEORGE KUHN CLARKE, 1928-1941

*HERMANN F. CLARKE, 1939-1947

*DAVID H. COOLIDGE, 1895-1907

*HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, 1913-1929

*JACOB A. DRESSER, 1891-1893

RALPH M. EASTMAN, 1941-

*JOHN W. FARWELL, 1907-1929

*ALBERT A. FOLSOM, 1897-1907

* Deceased.

The Bostonian Society

- *ALLAN FORBES, 1942-1946
- *THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM, 1930-1944
- *COURTENAY GUILD, 1908-1946
- *CURTIS GUILD, 1881-1906
- *JOHN T. HASSAM, 1881-1890
- *HAMILTON A. HILL, 1883-1895
- *JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, 1894-1910
- *JAMES M. HUNNEWELL, 1935-1954
- FREDERICK M. KIMBALL, 1948-1949
- *NATHANIEL T. KIDDER, 1923-1938
- JOHN C. KILEY, JR., 1950-
- *JOHN LATHROP, 1887-1899
- *ABBOTT LAWRENCE, 1882-1884
- *WILLIAM H. LINCOLN, 1899-1903
- *AUGUSTUS P. LORING, JR., 1943-1951
- AUGUSTUS P. LORING, 1951-
- FRANCIS B. LOTHROP, 1959-
- RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN, 1952-
- *FRANCIS H. MANNING, 1904-1922
- *WILLIAM T. R. MARVIN, 1900-1913
- *JOSEPH G. MINOT, 1912-1928
- *THOMAS MINNS, 1881-1885
- CHARLES F. NETTLESHIP, JR., 1954-1959
- *GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, 1908-1933
- WILLIAM B. OSGOOD, 1954-
- *FREDERICK W. PARKER, 1917-1923
- *T. TEMPLE POND, 1948-1961
- *EDWARD G. PORTER, 1896-1900
- H. W. DWIGHT RUDD
- *SAMUEL H. RUSSELL, 1882-1894
- *SAMUEL E. SAWYER, 1889
- *FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR., 1915-1950
- FRANCIS E. SMITH, 1932-1947
- *CHARLES H. TAYLOR, 1906-1941
- CHARLES H. TAYLOR, 1945-
- *BENJAMIN H. TICKNOR, 1948-1949
- *WILLIAM Q. WALES, 1923-1934

* Deceased.

Officers of the Society

ix

*WILLIAM W. WARREN, 1886-1890

*WALTER K. WATKINS, 1929-1933

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, 1961-

*WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, 1883-1886

*LEVI L. WILLCUTT, 1894-1912

* Deceased.

Officers

President

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN

Vice-President

AUGUSTUS P. LORING

Secretary

BARRETT WILLIAMS

Treasurer

WILLIAM B. OSGOOD

Directors

RALPH M. EASTMAN
CHARLES H. TAYLOR
MARK BORTMAN
JOHN C. KILEY

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN
AUGUSTUS P. LORING
WILLIAM B. OSGOOD
FRANCIS B. LOTHROP

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Curator of Collections

HARRIET ROPES CABOT

Assistant Curator

ALICE H. MARASPIN

Curator of Maritime History

MARION V. BREWINGTON

Custodians

ANDREW P. DAKIN
WILLIAM H. QUAIN

ALFRED BERNTSEN

PAUL F. COLMAN
KENNETH HOWARD

Administrative Assistant

ALICE C. MORLEY

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HENRY HORNBLOWER

JOHN C. KILEY, JR.

AUGUSTUS P. LORING

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MARION V. BREWINGTON

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN

ERNEST S. DODGE

WILLIAM B. OSGOOD

EBENEZER GAY

STEPHEN WHEATLAND

AUGUSTUS P. LORING

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

FRANCIS B. LOTHROP

HARRIET R. CABOT, *Ex-officio*

BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Secretary*

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SUMNER H. BABCOCK

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN

JOHN B. HYNES

ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY

JOHN C. KILEY, JR.

BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Secretary*

Committee on Papers

BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Chairman and Secretary*

JOHN C. KILEY, JR.

FRANCIS B. LOTHROP

Committee on Publications

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EBENEZER GAY

DAVID McCORD

RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN

ELLIOTT PERKINS

BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Secretary*

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BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Secretary**Committee on Memorials*RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN, *Chairman*

AUGUSTUS P. LORING

FRANCIS B. LOTHROP

BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Secretary*

Proceedings

Annual Meeting

THE eightieth Annual Meeting of the Bostonian Society was held in the Old South Meeting House, Washington and Milk Streets, Boston, on Tuesday, January 17, 1961, at 1:00 P.M., the President, RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN, in the chair.

As the meeting was held on the two hundred and fifty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, the Reverend FREDERICK M. MEEK of the Old South Church delivered an address in honor of Franklin. Dr. Meek outlined his many contributions as printer, philosopher, statesman, diplomat, writer, inventor, and, above all, public servant.

“Here we honor Benjamin Franklin,” said Dr. Meek, “the most distinguished world citizen of his day, the Leonardo da Vinci of American life, in pre-eminence Boston’s first son, one of the true architects of our independence, a man whose deeds have immeasurably enriched the life of our day even though long decades lie between us.

“To allow Franklin to be forgotten,” he added, “is to be base and ungrateful. To allow our children to reach maturity without learning of his true greatness is to deprive them of one of the most precious parts of their heritage and available inspirations.”

The *Christian Science Monitor*, in reporting the meeting said, “For all the talk of ‘new frontiers,’ one group of Bostonians, at least, has its eyes trained upon history’s rear-view mirror. When the bulk of the population talks of progress and national purpose, the Bostonian Society speaks in terms of an ‘old frontiers’ heritage bequeathed by one of the nation’s Founding Fathers, Benjamin Franklin.”

The records of the last annual meeting were read by the Administrative Assistant, Mrs. ALICE C. MORLEY.

The Annual Report of the Secretary was submitted by Mr. BARRETT WILLIAMS.

Report of the Secretary

On September 1, 1960, a special meeting of the Directors of the Bostonian Society heard Mr. John Codman speak on the movement afoot to preserve the Old Corner Bookstore Building. This graceful little structure at the corner of School and Washington Streets—the second oldest existing building in Boston—was in grave danger of demolition. A distinguished Old Corner Committee, which had been formed to save this important architectural monument, requested the co-operation of the Bostonian Society. The Committee had secured an option for the purchase of the property, which required an equity payment of \$50,000 before the end of December.

To the Directors the story recalled only too vividly the narrow escapes from destruction of the Old State House. There was agreement that quick action was necessary, and that the Bostonian Society should assist. After legal consultation it was agreed to make the Bostonian Society the authorized recipient of funds raised by the Old Corner Committee for “purchasing, restoring and preserving the Old Corner Bookstore Building,” and to contribute \$1,000 to the cause. The general public response that followed was materially aided by the splendid co-operation of the press, not only in Boston but in other parts of the country. As the funds required for the equity payment were obtained, title to the building passed on December 30 to Historic Boston, Inc., a corporation specially organized for the protection of this and other architectural and historical monuments of the city. While Historic Boston, Inc., must still raise at least a similar sum for the restoration of the Old Corner Bookstore Building, the initial challenge was met within the limited time available and a significant landmark saved.

The past year was noteworthy not only for this achievement, but for a marked increase in the use of the Old State House, the maintenance and operation of which is the Society's pri-

mary concern. During 1960 53,331 visitors passed through our doors, a gain of more than three thousand over the previous year, and the largest number in the history of the Society. Membership not only held its own, but 23 new Life and 105 Annual members joined. In addition a large number of scholars, researchers, and persons from the business and professional world made contact with the Society by letter or by telephone inquiry.

Exhibitions on timely historical subjects have increased in quantity and quality under the direction of our Curator of Collections, Mrs. Ropes Cabot, whose activities are summarized in a separate report. The appearance of the rooms is more attractive and their contents more instructive than at any time in recent years. It can fairly be said that the larger number of visitors have been repaid by a more rewarding variety of displays. From harpoons to cocked hats to portraits, there has been an appeal to all tastes and ages.

Your Secretary feels, however, that the importance of the Old State House as the place where "the child Independence was born" and as the oldest governmental building in the country, still needs to be underscored. With this in mind, he has written various feature articles for Boston newspapers, an article on the Old State House for the November issue of the *Boston Bar Journal*, and has supplied background for commemorative speeches by persons outside the Society. The object of these contributions has been the hope of moving the Old State House in closer proximity to Faneuil Hall in the index of the public mind.

The Secretary would remind his readers that the full activities of the Bostonian Society are never set down in this report. The constant efforts of the President and Directors as individuals on behalf of the objectives of the Society is unrecorded, as is the routine but essential day-by-day work of the administrative and curatorial staff. This silent contribution of the So-

ciety does not need to be underscored. As long as members and the public benefit, the effort is successful; as long as they approve, it is rewarded.

The Annual Report of the Treasurer for the year ending December 31, 1960, was submitted by Mr. WILLIAM B. OSGOOD, who stated the financial books and records of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Charles F. Rittenhouse & Company, Certified Public Accountants.

Report of the Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET

ASSETS

Fund assets:

| | | |
|---|-------------|---------------------|
| Bonds, at cost (market value, \$162,130) | | \$178,921.84 |
| Stocks, at cost (market value, \$298,102) | | 100,803.19 |
| Savings bank deposits | | 5,326.58 |
| Cash in bank and on hand | \$12,664.05 | |
| Less: Amount withheld for social security and income taxes | 284.23 | 12,379.82 |
| Cash—Old Corner Fund | | 1,463.02 |
| Advances to employees | | 60.00 |
| TOTAL FUND ASSETS | | \$298,954.45 |

FUNDS

Funds, Schedule A-2:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Life memberships | \$ 84,642.89 |
| Gifts and bequests, restricted | 53,662.34 |
| Unrestricted funds | 159,186.20 |
| Old Corner Fund, Schedule A-3 | 1,463.02 |
| TOTAL FUNDS | \$298,954.45 |

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE

Income:

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| Interest on bonds | \$ 7,156.27 |
| Dividends on stocks | 9,649.87 |
| Savings bank interest | 193.03 |
| Annual dues | 4,115.00 |
| Commonwealth of Massachusetts | 1,375.00 |
| Sale of souvenirs—net | 37.03 |
| Contributions | 390.00 |
| Estate of Evangeline V. Apthorp | 2,000.00 |
| Estate of Lee M. Freedman | 1,000.00 |

TOTAL INCOME

\$25,916.20

Expenses:

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| Salaries | \$13,655.38 |
| Payroll taxes | 381.57 |
| Telephone | 352.86 |
| Electricity | 755.04 |
| Cleaning | 2,985.00 |
| Printing | 2,830.42 |
| Postage | 295.65 |
| Supplies | 290.39 |
| Museum | 1,522.33 |
| Accounting and auditing services | 180.00 |
| Rent | 200.00 |
| Restoration | 412.50 |
| Equipment | 309.50 |
| Safekeeping | 50.00 |
| Automatic fire alarm | 156.60 |

Rebate on insurance previously

charged to expense \$54.63

Less: Current insurance 44.00 (10.63)

Contribution to Old Corner Fund 1,000.00

Miscellaneous 203.64

TOTAL EXPENSES

25,570.25

EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENSES,

Schedule A-2

\$ 345.95

CHANGES IN FUNDS

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

| | | |
|--|-------------|--------------------|
| Balance, January 1, 1960 | | \$ 83,466.67 |
| Add: 23 Life memberships at \$50 each | \$ 1,150.00 | |
| Allocation of gain on disposal of investments | 26.22 | 1,176.22 |
| BALANCE, December 31, 1960 | | <u>\$84,642.89</u> |

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS, RESTRICTED

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Balance, January 1, 1960 | \$ 53,645.61 |
| Add: Allocation of gain on disposal of investments | 16.73 |
| BALANCE, December 31, 1960 | <u>\$ 53,662.34</u> |

Made up of:

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Jacob Bancroft Bequest | \$ 1,500.00 |
| Boston Memorial Association | 1,179.51 |
| George T. Cruft Bequest | 1,000.00 |
| James F. Hunnewell Memorial | 1,000.00 |
| Laura N. Marrs Bequest | 15,000.00 |
| Samuel E. Sawyer Bequest | 4,610.87 |
| Gift from Francis E. and Elsie Cora Smith | 1,000.00 |
| Fanny M. Stockford Bequest | 4,273.34 |
| Gift from Annie Lane Burr Trust | 1,000.00 |
| James Lyman Whitney Library Fund | 13,143.39 |
| | <u>\$43,707.11</u> |

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Add: Accumulated gains on disposal of investments | 9,955.23 |
| | <u>\$53,662.34</u> |

UNRESTRICTED FUNDS

| | | |
|---|-----------|---------------------|
| Balance, January 1, 1960 | | \$158,790.57 |
| Add: Excess of income over expenses | \$ 345.95 | |
| Allocation of gain on disposal of investments | 49.68 | 395.63 |
| BALANCE, December 31, 1960 | | <u>\$159,186.20</u> |

Schedule A-3

OLD CORNER FUND

| | | |
|--|-------------|--------------------|
| Contributions received to purchase the Old Corner Book Store for Historic Boston, Inc. | | \$42,412.46 |
| Less: Partial payment on purchase | \$33,000.00 | |
| Taxes | 6,300.00 | |
| Insurance | 1,061.24 | |
| Luncheon to raise funds | 588.20 | 40,949.44 |
| BALANCE, December 31, 1960 | | <u>\$ 1,463.02</u> |

The Report of the Curator of Collections was submitted by Mrs. ROPES CABOT.

Report of the Curator

During the past five years the Curator has endeavored to put the collections of the Society in good order. Time and the encroachment of modern dirt in downtown Boston have had their way, so that in addition to making a completely new cata-

logue and rearranging and storing the objects which have accumulated here since the founding of the Society in 1881, there has been cleaning, mending, restoring, framing, and unframing in an endless round. This has been no sedentary job, but rather a gymnastic one. Previous generations set a fine standard for this museum which it would be hard to equal. The exhibitions were once arranged in great variety and detail for a public who could understand them, being nearer in historic time and more conversant with the local references in a much smaller community. Fashions change, and exhibits have to fit the times and understanding of the current generation. It has been with regret that we have had to store away many things that can now be shown only on special occasions. There has been surprisingly little "junk."

As there was little mention of the museum's progress in the last *Proceedings*, I shall include a report of 1959 with that of 1960. In these two years we have received gifts from 33 persons.

The most interesting and important of these is the group of three large oil sketches (4 by 10 feet each) of the Battle of Bunker Hill Cyclorama of 1888, given in November 1960 by the late Clifford Smith of Rockport, Maine. These, and a fourth sketch, now destroyed, which completed the scene, were bought by the donor's uncle, Mr. David Smith, at a sale in Boston, and hung for years in a "chalet" on his place in Maine. When this building burned, the three sketches now owned by the Society, were rescued.

These sketches recall two local nineteenth-century attempts to combine historical reconstruction with popular amusement, and, presumably, profit to a promoter. In 1885 a vast cyclorama of the Battle of Gettysburg, now on display at Gettysburg, was opened to visitors at 541 Tremont Street, Boston. This was displayed in a round brick building, 138 feet in diameter and 75 feet high, with a tin roof, built the previous year for Charles F. Willoughby by the architectural firm of Cum-

gings and Sears, which is used today as the Flower Mart. A similar monstrosity, bearing a family resemblance to a gasometer, was built three years later at the corner of Tremont and Chandler Streets, to display a cyclorama of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Cummings and Sears were again the architects. The projector was A. T. Andrews of Chicago, and the controlling syndicate included, among others, J. M. Forbes, General Thomas Sherwin, Z. T. Hollingsworth, U. T. Hollingsworth, and S. M. Crosby. The permit to build, dated April 4, 1887, gave the site as 429 Tremont Street, although city directories described the cyclorama as at 401 Tremont Street. The building, which was owned by the Loyal Legion of Honor, A. A. Rand *et al.*, was 125 feet in diameter, 75 feet high, and of brick with a glass roof.

The Bunker Hill Cyclorama, whose opening was reported in the *Boston Herald* for February 5, 1888, was painted by Messrs. L. Kowalsky, G. Picard, Georges Bellenger, O. Saurier, and V. Coppenolle, described as "all graduates of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris." A sixteen-page booklet, *Battle of Bunker Hill Illustrated*,¹ provided for the convenience of visitors, stated: "The scene, as here depicted, represents the moment when the British troops, after having been twice repulsed in their desperate attempts to break through the line of works held by the colonial militia, and having received large re-enforcements, were, a third time, driven to the assault by the strenuous efforts of their officers, and are on the point of entering the redoubt. The spectator is supposed to stand on the summit of Bunker Hill on the spot where the Monument now stands, and to be looking down upon the scene there enacted."

The visitors stood on a platform in the middle of the building to admire the 18 by 240 foot painting, with the aid of a circular key provided in the booklet. The illusion was "made strikingly complete by various lighting devices," furnished

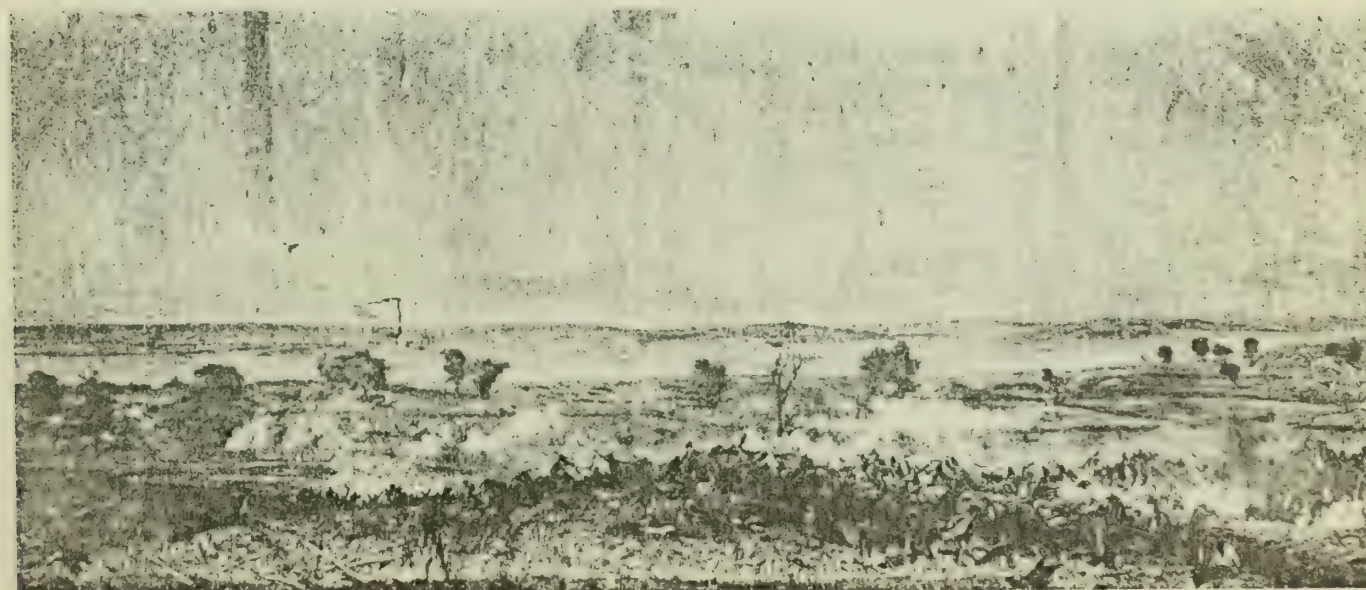
¹ Owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

by "The" Ball Electric Light Co., 60 Equitable Building, Boston, who took a half-page advertisement in the booklet to quote a testimonial of January 28, 1888, from Frank Prescott, manager of the cyclorama.

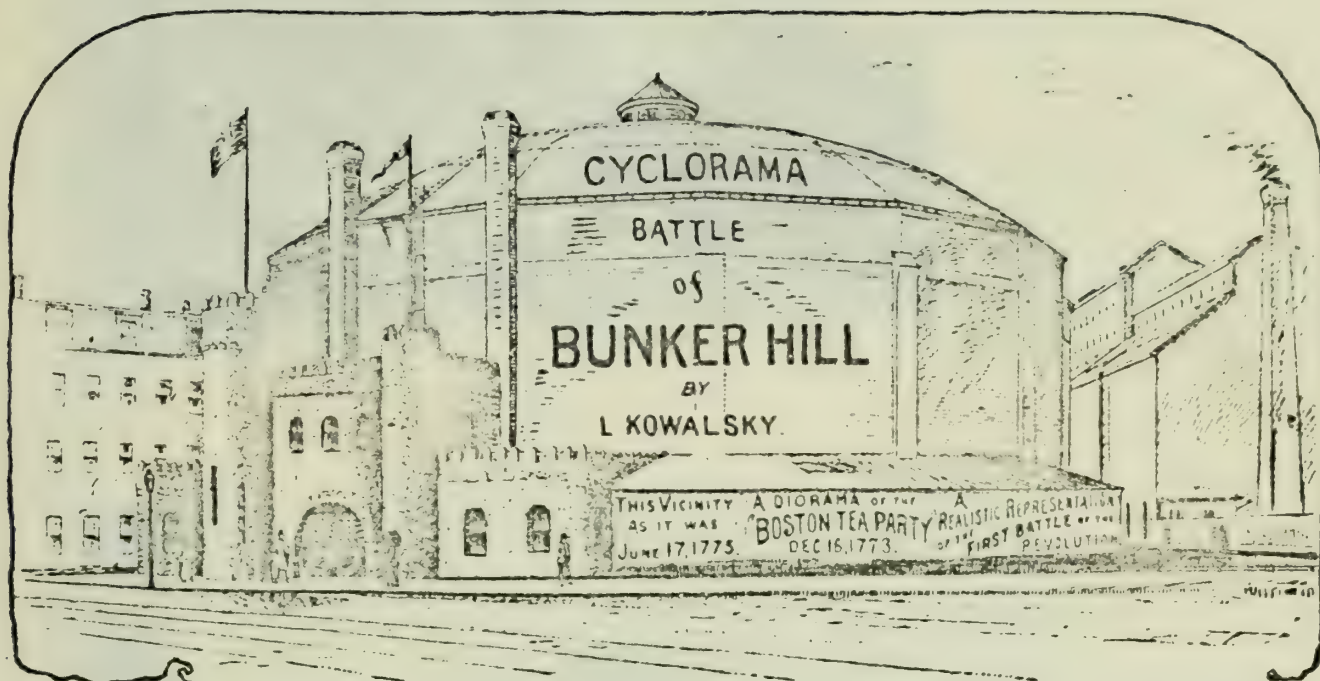
This vast curiosity was short-lived, for the Castle Square Theatre had been built on the site of the cyclorama by 1895, which is today occupied by a building of the Animal Rescue League. The paintings have long since disappeared, but Mr. John G. Weld, who was, as a boy, taken to see them on display, gave the Bostonian Society a set of photograph negatives of them, which are here reproduced for comparison with the sketches. It is not known what became of the paintings. One theory would have them buried in a then vacant lot on Boylston Street, where they would have been subject to the ravages of the weather and the young. Another suggests that they were removed to the Boston and Providence Railroad Freight Station, and, on its demolition, taken to the South Station freight house and stored there. It seems unlikely that even a New England railroad could store such bulky canvases for more than half a century without someone stumbling over them.

The three sketches now owned by the Bostonian Society are attractive in color and extremely well painted. They were probably done without assistance by the chief artist of the cyclorama, Kowalsky, who had exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1881. Unfortunately they are not in good enough condition to exhibit without restoration, the cost of which has been estimated at \$2,000 each. The donor had hoped to assist with this work, but his death has put an end to that possibility. As the Bostonian Society lacks both funds for restoration and suitable space to exhibit the pictures at present, they have regretfully been protectively wrapped and stored in the attic of the Old State House for the present.

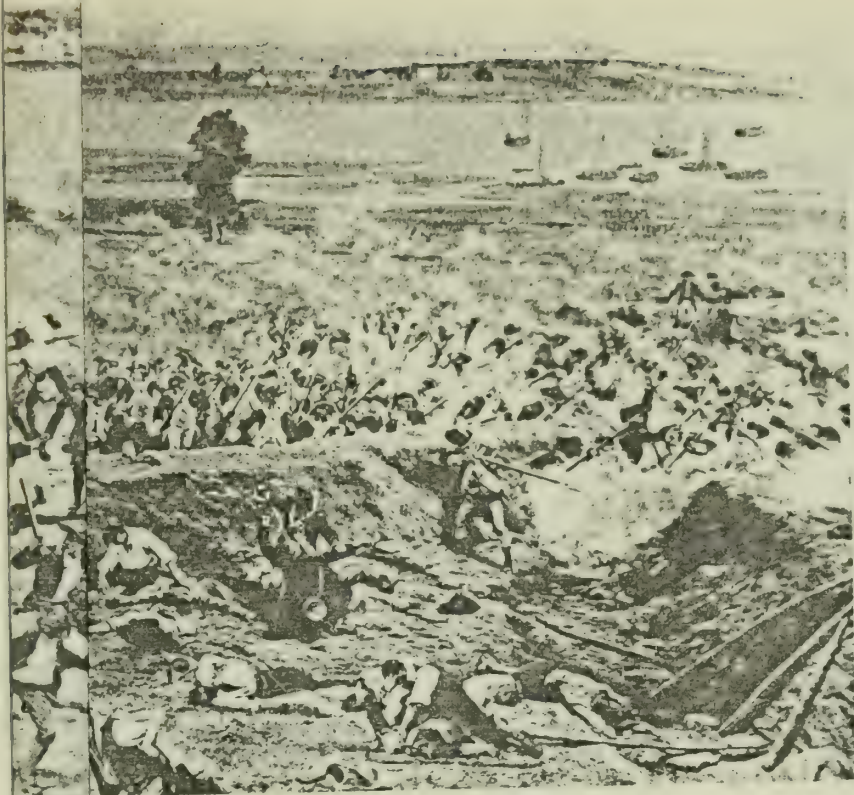
Mr. Francis Melvill Turner of Seattle, Washington, brought us another three-cornered hat which formerly be-



Oil sketches for the Bunker Hill Cyclorama by L. Kowalsky, 4' x 10' each
Given to the Bostonian Society by the late Clifford Smith



Bunker Hill Cyclorama Building, 429 Tremont Street, Boston, in 1888
From Battle of Bunker Hill Illustrated (Boston, 1888)



lost d



Bunker Hill Cyclorama by L. Kowalsky, G. Picard, Georges Belléger, O. Saunier, and V. Coppenolle, 18' x 240', now lost or destroyed
 From photograph negatives given to the Bantman Society by Mr. John G. Wild

longed to his ancestor, Major Thomas Melvill, with a small group of papers. This is in beautiful condition, and is a fine addition to our Melvill collection.

We received from Mr. Charles D. Childs a portrait of the merchant Ammi Cutter Lombard, a fine painting of the first police boat *Protector* by William Stubbs, and from the Commissioner of Police, Leo J. Sullivan, through Deputy Superintendent Anthony Markhard, our police collection was further enriched by a number of police badges, photographs, and other items. Mrs. Ralph Lowell has added to the fire collection a fire-bucket once owned by John Lowell, Jr., in the Boston Fire Club, and Mrs. Carlos Allen has given a large group of stereos of the Boston Fire of 1872.

The Marine Room continues to be popular. Five paintings by Marshall Johnson of Hinckley ships and a model of the *Living Age* were given in memory of Henrietta Hinckley Wood and Herbert A. Wood. The former treasurer of the Marine Museum, Mr. W. Marriott Welch, gave two ship models—one of the frigate *Washington* and a small bone model made in Dartmoor Prison in 1812, while Mrs. Sprague Eaton of Worcester has given a charming watercolor of the ship *North Bend*.

Although the Society is reluctant to accept long-term loans, we have taken several important ones, including the model of the clipper ship *Swallow*, lent by Messrs. Frederic and Hugh Wallace, descendants of her owner. We are indebted to Mr. William E. Blanchard of Gloucester for the loan of the chronometer used on the *Cahota*. The Bunker Hill Monument Association has deposited their portrait of Lafayette by Phalipon with us, and the Massachusetts Historical Society has lent us their model of the Brattle Square Church (1772-1871), with the cannon ball, fired from the American lines in Cambridge on the eve of the British evacuation of Boston, which hit the front of the church. This model, with a glass roof installed, has proved a very popular exhibit.

Progress was made on the catalogue, and a complete accession list is almost ready. Although this is only the beginning, at least we now have something to work with. The objects will, however, have to be found, measured, and marked before the file can be used casually and comfortably.

Each year storage arrangements have been improved. In earlier years shelves were installed in the attic for storage of objects, and screens for the proper storage of paintings were put up through the generosity of the Boston Arts Festival. Last year shelves were built for the photograph and print collections, and a start was made on an orderly arrangement.

Six paintings have been cleaned and restored, most of them emergencies requiring first aid: the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Shurtleff, the Lincoln Street Fire Company, Ship Street, and the ships *Helen* and *Sovereign of the Seas*. Mr. Clifford Smith generously arranged for the restoration of Joseph Ames's painting "The Last Days of Webster at Marshfield," which was originally commissioned by his grandfather for the publication of the familiar engraving. Our best Boston prints have been repaired, cleaned, and reframed, and now hang in the Rotunda, as well as the original Revere print of the Boston Massacre. Some of the framing has been the gift of Mr. Charles D. Childs. The cleaning of all the textiles that can stand it has also been accomplished.

The photograph and negative collections are probably the most active part of our work. We have had more than thirty separate orders for photographic prints in the last year, ranging from one to fifty items in each. We own about one thousand negatives, mostly on glass, and hope before long that we may be able to renew their envelopes and provide better boxing for their protection and for greater ease in handling. The collection has been added to by the generosity of David Cobb, William J. Gurney, William Stanley Parker, Charles H. Taylor, and others.

The exhibitions have been improved aesthetically and their

security much increased by the welcome gift of three upright cases from the Museum of Fine Arts and the loan of ten flat cases by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The old cases with iron bars which were removed from Representatives' Hall speedily found new homes at the Dover and Dorchester historical societies. By the use of a new folding movable screen small special exhibitions of Mayors of Boston, Political Campaign Banners, and the Old Corner Bookstore Building were made possible.

In reviewing these sometimes tedious details, I begin to see that some progress has really been made in the proper house-keeping of these collections, which was so long neglected by circumstances, not design. The restoration, cataloguing, and exhibition will take patience and time to complete. It is a continuing business, but it should not be interminable. Our friends increase yearly, and their thoughtfulness, discrimination, and tact is splendid. It is only through their continued interest and imagination that this museum can increase and develop further. The encouragement of my colleagues in sister institutions and the help of the Chairman of the Committee on Rooms, Mr. Edward P. Hamilton, as well as that of the staff and of Mr. Ellsworth Lank, our picture hanger, has been inexhaustible, carrying us through many trying and athletic days.

The report of the Nominating Committee, consisting of Mr. WALTER I. BADGER, JR., Chairman, Miss Ruth N. Carter, Messrs. Nathaniel T. Worthen, Nathaniel T. Dexter, and Gilbert R. Payson, was read, placing in nomination for officers for 1961, the following: *Secretary*, BARRETT WILLIAMS; *Treasurer*, WILLIAM B. OSGOOD; *Directors*, RALPH M. EASTMAN, CHARLES H. TAYLOR, T. TEMPLE POND, MARK BORTMAN, JOHN C. KILEY, JR., RICHARD FRIEND LUFKIN, AUGUSTUS P. LORING, FRANCIS B. LOTHROP, and WILLIAM B. OSGOOD.

A call for other nominations was made, but none were of-

ferred and it was voted that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast one ballot for the nominees of the Committee. As the vote was unanimous the Secretary did accordingly and the President declared that the nominees as above were duly elected.

At 2:00 P.M. the meeting adjourned to 17 Milk Street, where a bronze plaque reading: ON THIS SITE STOOD THE BIRTHPLACE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, BORN JANUARY 17, 1706 was unveiled. This plaque was conceived and designed by T. TEMPLE POND, Vice-President of the Bostonian Society, who because of confinement to his home by illness was regrettably unable to be present. It will not only call the attention of the passer-by to the site of Franklin's birth, but will remind those members who were present at the dedication of Mr. Pond's long service to the Bostonian Society, of which this was the last instance.

BARRETT WILLIAMS, *Secretary*

James Otis and the Writs of Assistance

BY CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON

IN this year of our Lord 1961 when the nation is busy with the commemoration of the beginning of the Civil War, it will pay small attention to an event of the year 1761 which John Adams regarded as the first peal of the American Revolution. This neglect is quite understandable, for the attack of James Otis, Jr., on the Writs of Assistance lacks the clarity of issue which the firing on Sumter has; indeed the whole question of the Writs, of Otis' political ideas, and of John Adams' retrospective views is confused by the fact that subsequent events gave those of 1761 a significance which their contemporaries did not see.¹

The Writs are the simplest part of the problem. They were search warrants which had long been used with no objections and slight abuse, but suddenly became significant with the decision of the Pitt Ministry to enforce the tax on molasses. As a legal case the argument on the Writs has little significance, for Otis had no firm ground on which to stand. He certainly lost the case, for both the Superior Court and the Council, of which his father, Colonel James Otis, Sr., was a member, accepted without a single dissenting vote Thomas Hutchinson's report that the Writs were legal; and they were subsequently used here and in other colonies.

The significance of the occasion lay in James Otis' great oration, which lasted for four or five hours and forever after rang in the ears of John Adams. In all history few speeches have been better suited to the moment of their delivery. Since the founding of the colonies, England had suffered three revolu-

¹ For a full documentation of the statements made in this sketch, see *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, XI, 247-288.

tions and had built an empire without anyone stopping to define the relationship existing between the Americans and Parliament. The Molasses Act suddenly called to the attention of the colonists the fact that the familiar statement that they enjoyed the rights of Englishmen no longer sufficed. When Otis cried out that every man is "an independent sovereign, subject to no law, but the law written on his heart," his hearers thrilled at the vision to which the word democracy was later to be given. His speech on the Writs was the formulation of a political creed which, for many Americans, suddenly brought order out of the chaos of their political thought.

The next year Otis expanded his thesis in his *Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives* which John Adams in retrospect called the most influential of the works which gave rise to the Revolution. It is a clear, brilliant, and forceful statement of Whig political theory:

1. God made all men naturally equal. 2. The ideas of earthly superiority, pre-eminence and grandeur are educational, at least acquired, not innate. 3. Kings were (and plantation Governors should be) made for the good of the people, and not the people for them.

On the basis of these two performances and an unfortunate tavern brawl, James Otis has been portrayed as one of the two martyrs in the pantheon of American political saints, but even less well than Nathan Hale does he fit into the two-dimensional portraiture of that kind of literary art. Round of face and body, loud and violent in his manner, he had a personality which could not be truly pictured in the flat frescos of orthodox political tradition. His contemporaries would have been amazed at his political portrait as painted by a later generation, for practically every one of them, Whig and Tory alike, was more often than not furious at his violent, vacillating, and sometimes outrageous conduct. In these days John Adams entered in his diary this sketch of "Jemmy" Otis:

RECIPE TO MAKE A PATRIOT

Take the several species of malevolence, as revenge, malice, envy, equal quantities; of servility, fear, fury, vanity, profaneness, and ingratitude, equal quantities; and infuse this composition into the brains of an ugly, surly, brutal mortal, and you have the desideratum.

This was typical of the opinion which Adams, like his contemporaries of the Bench and Bar, held of Otis before the Revolution, and which he forgot when, his perspective distorted by the passage of half a century, he created in his reminiscences the legend of the martyr saint.

Neither the contemporary nor the retrospective picture shows Otis as the man of sound scholarship, wide interests, and rare genius which he really was. The *Dissertation on Letters* which he published in 1760 represents for his generation of Americans the exciting discovery of the laws of philology, and a companion volume on Greek literature remained in manuscript because no colonial printer could handle it. As a lawyer, he was at the top of his profession. He was called as far as Nova Scotia to defend men accused of piracy, and is said to have received the largest fees ever earned by a Massachusetts lawyer up to that time.

Like most geniuses, for a genius he certainly was, Otis had a streak of queerness, and this grew with the passage of the years. On one occasion in his boyhood when he and his fiddle were dragged out by his contemporaries to provide music for dancing, he complied until the activity was fairly under way, and then stopped, cried "so Orpheus fiddled and so danced the brutes," threw aside his instrument, and fled. As a lawyer, he sometimes drove Bench and Bar to fury by his fey arguments or his sudden, savage attacks on the judges as well as on his associates. It was typical of this side of his practice that he tried to have a famous suit thrown out of court because the plea did not specify the language in which the alleged slanders had been uttered.

In spite of the fact that John Adams in retrospect regarded Otis as the systematizer of the philosophy of the American Revolution, modern historians debate his meaning, for he can be quoted on both sides of most critical questions. In part this is because Jemmy was erratic, and in part it is due to the fact that he was too wise and learned to see any issue in sharp black and white. He could not close his mind to the arguments of his opponents, and when they were good, he was drawn to accept points which contradicted his own first stand. He could not join Charles Chauncy, Sam Adams, and John Hancock in their utterly irresponsible march toward war; he had lived through two wars and he knew how much worse civil war would be. When Parliament in 1765 put its back up and decided to tax the colonies, that became for him, the lawyer, the law *de facto*, and war was no solution. At that time he said that "if the government at home don't very soon send forces to keep the province, they will be cutting one another's throats from one end to the other of it," but when the Regulars did come he talked wildly of armed resistance. At General Gage's table in New York he said that "the province of Massachusetts would never be in order, until the Council was appointed from home." John Adams at that time quoted him as saying "that the Parliament had a right to tax the colonies, and he was a d----d fool who denied it; that this people never would be quiet until we had a council from home, till our charter was taken away, and till we had regular troops quartered upon us"; this was a more conservative position than the most rabid of Massachusetts Tories then took. In one town meeting he said "that the Merchants were fools if they Submitted to any Restrictions of their Trade laid upon them by the British Parliament," and at another he told the town that it would be imprudent to oppose the new duties, and greatly deprecated any violent protest. At a period in which he was writing sane and wise letters to English politicians, in the General Court he made this attack on the House of Lords:

'Tis notoriously known there are no set of people under the Canopy of Heaven more venal, more corrupt and debauch'd in their Principles—Is it then for their superior Learning? 'Tis true they are sent to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—and pray what do they Learn there?—why—nothing at all but Whoring, Smoaking and Drinking. . . . As a finishing stroke they are finally sent to France—what do they see there?—why—the outside of a Monkey—what are they when they return Home again?—Compleat Monkeys themselves.

In the same vein he denounced the House of Commons as “a parcel of Button-makers, Pin-makers, Horse Jockeys, Gamesters, Pensioners, Pimps and Whore Masters.”

In the decade after his speech on the Writs, Otis time and again shifted his political support from Whig to Tory and back again, sometimes from week to week. The town of Boston and the Whigs in the General Court repudiated his leadership while publicly maintaining the fiction that he was one of them because of the reputation of his political writings. At his first several conversions the Tories joyfully welcomed him as an ally, but were quickly driven to shelter by attacks like this in which he accused them of disloyalty in the French War:

They were in hopes to join in chanting *Te Deum* with their French Catholic Brethren in the churches, chapels and meeting-houses of Boston, New-York and Newport. Upon all occasions, during the war, they manifested their joy and exultation at any little success of the French—but kept vigils and severe fasts when they were drubbed. . . . Such is the little, dirty, drinking drabbing, contaminated knot of thieves, beggars and transports, or the worthy descendents of such, collected from the four winds of the earth, and made up of Turks, Jews and other Infidels, with a few renegado Christians and Catholics.

Otis would come out with fantastic attacks like this at times when he was co-operating politically with the Tories. He was driven to this useless violence by the same kind of compulsion which compels small boys to throw stones through the win-

dows of empty houses when they really don't want to do it.

The chief consistency in the career of Jemmy Otis was his hatred of Thomas Hutchinson. This had its origin, in 1760, in the desire of Colonel James Otis to obtain appointment to the Superior Court. For reasons which now entirely elude us, the Colonel was very unpopular with the educated and ruling class. The Justices went to the Governor and opposed this appointment, giving as their reason the fact that "Integrity was an essential Qualification of a Judge," and urging that Hutchinson be named to the vacancy. The Governor took their advice. Jemmy Otis had previously told Hutchinson that if he wished the place for himself, "neither he nor his father had a word more to say, no person in the Province would be more agreeable to them"; but once the appointment was made, the younger Otis in a fury publicly threatened "that he would do all the mischief he could to the Government, and would set the Province in a flame." From that time on the reasonable approach to public affairs which had marked his speech on the Writs and his vindication of the House disappears from his writings. In an earlier clash he had insinuated to the masses that Hutchinson was their enemy: "I know it is a maxim of some, that the common people in this town and country live too well; however I am of a quite different opinion, I do not think they live half well enough." The insinuations now became open and violent attacks which continued even when he was co-operating with Governor Bernard on the floor of the House.

Similar violent attacks on other people led inevitably to that unfortunate tavern brawl from which came the legend of the martyrdom of James Otis. Fortunately the events of that day were fully reported at the time by the participants and the witnesses, by Whigs and Tories, and they agree in the substance of an account which has little relation to the legend. On September 1, 1769, Otis called on the Customs officers and demanded satisfaction for being called a traitor in their cor-

respondence. Officer Joseph Harrison made a gesture of apology, but his colleague John Robinson, a gentle and reasonable man, argued the point. Jemmy then strutted about the town, promising to avenge himself on the first Customs officer with whom he should meet. Hearing that Robinson had bought a cane, he went into the store and "desired the fellow to it." In the *Boston Gazette* of September 4, he published an excoriating attack on the Customs officers, calling Robinson a "superlative blockhead" and declaring that he had "a natural right" if he could "get no other satisfaction to break his head." On the fifth he was quite violent. John Adams, who met him at the town house, made this entry in his diary:

Otis indulged himself in all his airs, attacked the selectmen. . . . Charged them with timidity, haughtiness, arbitrary dispositions, and insolence of office. . . . There is no politeness or delicacy, no learning nor ingenuity, no taste or sence in this kind of conversation.

In the early evening Otis went to a coffee house where Robinson was drinking with a group of army and navy officers. He was in a rage and waving his stick. Robinson, who had put aside his sword in expectation of such a clash, tried to reason with him, but Jemmy demanded "a Gentleman's Satisfaction," which the Customs officer agreed to give him. Otis then started around the table toward Robinson, perhaps intending only to go out-of-doors where they would have more room to fight. The Customs officer, perhaps interpreting this as an attack, tried to grab Jemmy's nose. Otis threw up his stick to protect his member, and Robinson struck him with his stick. For about a minute they clubbed each other, Jemmy sustaining a cut on the forehead. One officer seized him and several seized Robinson, disarming them. A ring was formed so that they could continue to fight with their fists, and they continued briskly until the presence of a growing crowd caused the officers to retire by a back door. Otis was left on his feet and in possession of the field of battle. A friend told him "he had better go into

the Front Room, sit down and compose himself, which he did." After a few minutes he got up and at the suggestion of his friends walked off to have his cut attended to. Dr. Thomas Young, who was one of the most violent Whigs, reported that Jemmy's cut and contusions were not dangerous. So far as can now be discovered, no one at this time took the fight seriously or expressed concern for Otis.

In the *Gazette* of September 11 Jemmy published another attack on the Customs officers in which he said that they evidently intended "to rely on Assassination as their last Resort." Robinson at once protested the use of the word "Assassination" to describe a simple assault. Otis publicly expressed "a concern for having made use of it," and came to a substantial agreement with the Customs officer as to what had taken place in the tavern. Five weeks after the fight, John Adams remarked that Otis was much better mentally than he had been for a long time. He moderated the next town meeting.

The development of the legend of the Otis-Robinson fight is one of the most remarkable examples of successful political propaganda in American history. The reason why Jemmy expressed concern for having used the word "assassination" was that Sam Adams and the editorial board of the *Boston Gazette* had immediately seized upon it and used it as a basis for a fantastic story which their local readers knew to be a bald lie, but which would influence people in other colonies and in England. Within a week of the assault they were announcing that Otis and a friend (who in fact had not received a scratch) had been carried out of the coffee house weltering in their blood. Others then remembered that they had heard the Customs officers planning the assassination. In its full-blown form the propaganda told how one of the officers seized Otis and held him while army, navy, and customs officers fell upon him with swords and bludgeons. Then, leaving him for dead, they had fled to boats prepared to take them to refuge on a man-of-war where they were safe from the rage of the people. Even

John Adams in later years came to believe this story and retold it, adding as his personal contribution the statement that Otis as a result of his beating had on his head "a scar in which a man might bury his finger."

After the tavern fight Otis' fits of madness continued to increase in frequency and violence at about the same rate as in previous years. The first part of 1771 was a good period in which John Adams found him "More calm, more solid, decent and cautious than he ever was even before his late disorders." That year the town returned him to the House of Representatives in which he supported the prerogative of the royal governor, his old enemy Hutchinson, and he himself broke the strike which the Whigs had called to protest the calling of the General Court at Cambridge. The rest of his biography is, however, a pitiful tale of increasing distraction.

In 1761 and 1762 James Otis did indeed make a great contribution to American political thought, and for this both the date and the man should be remembered. To call him, as some have done, "the god-like Otis," to make a martyred saint of him, to ignore his political inconsistency and his personal failings, is to be much less honest with him than he was with himself. In his later years he was tortured by the belief that he had, as he put it, "ruined his Country"; let us hope that he knows that the evil which he did died before him, and that the good is still with us.

Memoir of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, by Harrison Gray

EDITED BY LOUIS LEONARD TUCKER

IT was perhaps poetic justice that Jonathan Mayhew (1720-1766) should have died of a "nervous fever," for the strong-willed Whig minister of the West Church (Boston) unsettled many people in the course of his career.¹ A maverick among the Bostonians of his time, Mayhew was a religious and political storm-center during the pre-Revolutionary period.² To the orthodox clergy, who sought to prevent his ordination, he was anathema because of his pronounced liberal tendencies. To the adherents of the Church of England he was a *bête noir* because of the incendiary pamphlets he directed against the proposed establishment of an Anglican bishop in the American colonies. To political conservatives, who cherished the colonial affiliation with the mother country, Mayhew was a rebel in the making. Samuel Johnson, president of King's College, classified him as one of the "loose thinkers" of Massachusetts.³ The Whigs, on the other hand, regarded him as a "transcendent genius."⁴ Had he lived to the Revolution, there is every reason to believe that he would have joined Samuel Adams, James Otis, and John Hancock on George III's list of "most-wanted" Bostonians.

¹ On Mayhew and his distinguished family, see Alden Bradford, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew* . . . (Boston, 1838). Mayhew's religious and political ideas have been anatomized with surgical skill by Clinton Rossiter in "The Life and Mind of Jonathan Mayhew," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., VII (1950), 531-558.

² For a list of Mayhew's publications, consult Charles Evans and others, eds., *The American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets, and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States . . . 1639 . . . 1800* (Chicago and Worcester, 1903-55), I, II, III, passim.

³ Herbert and Carol Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings* (New York, 1929), I, 346.

⁴ Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* . . . (Boston, 1850-56), X, 287-288.

Because he was a man who invited contention, Mayhew was either respected or despised, applauded or damned. Harrison Gray; long-time Treasurer and Receiver-General of Massachusetts and the author of the document printed below, was an admirer. A shy, retiring man, Gray sat in the British Coffee House in pre-Revolutionary Boston with the Whig leaders, congenially discussing politics and relating "many curious anecdotes about governors, counsellors, representatives, demagogues, merchants, etc."⁵ But as the Revolutionary crisis deepened, he broke with the Whigs and embraced the loyalist cause. When the British evacuated Boston in 1776, Gray and two of his sons were among the swarm of loyalists who sailed for Halifax, Nova Scotia. A few months later he left for London, where he lived out his life.

The critical event in Gray's political career was the death of Mayhew. On the authority of John Adams, Gray would "never have been a refugee" had Mayhew lived to the Revolution. In the early years, Gray was as "open and decided" an American as Otis, wrote Adams, but "in 1766, Dr. Mayhew, who had been an oracle to the treasurer, died, and left him without a Mentor."⁶ Mayhew's death thus marked the beginning of Gray's political permutation.

In the light of Gray's memoir of Mayhew, written in 1766 before the author's disenchantment with the Whig cause, Adams' analysis appears to be correct. Gray's position was that of a dedicated disciple seeking to defend his master against the slashing attacks of a host of critics. (Indeed, his devotion extended to Mayhew's widow, to whom he offered a proposal of marriage!) Although filled with obsequious praise for Mayhew and implied criticism of his detractors, the document

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 162-163.

⁶ *Ibid.*, X, 193-194. Samuel Eliot Morison briefly analyzes Gray's apostasy in *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist, 1765-1848* (Boston and New York, 1913), I, 9-11. For a fuller exposition, and additional biographical data, see Morison, "The Property of Harrison Gray, Loyalist," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications*, XIV (Boston, 1913), 320-350.

conveys a wealth of information on the religious issues that charged the atmosphere of pre-Revolutionary Massachusetts. It also summarizes the highlights in the career of one of New England's most controversial clerics and, in the judgment of Dr. Clifford K. Shipton, "one of the two most famous American theologians of his day";⁷ Jonathan Edwards was the other.

The manuscript copy of the document reproduced below is in Dr. Williams' Library, London. Its provenance is unknown. In preparing the document for publication, I have expanded abbreviations (with the exception of "Dr.", and "Rev^d." which has been shortened to "Rev."), terminated complete thoughts with the proper punctuation, and begun new sentences with capitals. Internal punctuation and capitalization remain unchanged. The same rules apply to Gray's extracts from funeral sermons. It need be noted that Gray was most careless in quoting from these sermons. Numerous errors of a minor sort can be detected. I have made footnote citations only when he tampered with the published version so as to present Mayhew in a more favorable light. His favorite practice was to eliminate all negative expressions.

MEMOIR OF DR. JONATHAN MAYHEW BY HARRISON GRAY

The Treasurer presents, his respectful Compliments to Mrs. Mayhew and herewith sends her, a Sketch of the Life, and Character, of her late dear Partner, the Rev. Mr. Mayhew; which she is at Liberty to make what use of she shall think proper. He is well knowing to the facts contained in it: tho' he acknowledges, that the design is imperfectly executed. He wishes he could have done it better; however if any Gentle-

⁷ Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College . . . with Bibliographical and Other Notes . . .*, VII (Boston, 1945), 637-638; hereafter cited as *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*.

man of genius should hereafter engage to draw the Doctors life at large; these broken hints may be of service.

November 25, 1766

* * * * *

Doctor Mayhew descended from respectable and pious Ancestors. His Great Great Grandfather, was Governor of Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth Isles, and for several years occasionally dispensed, the Gospel to the Indians. His great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father, were also eminent preachers of the Gospel to the Indians: Men of Renown and Piety, zealous in propagating the knowledge of Christ among the Aboriginal Natives of the Land. The Doctor's Father the late Venerable and Rev. Mr. Experience Mayhew, spent his whole time in that Service. He was a Gentleman of superiour understanding, a close reasoner. He had a metaphysical and logical head, was a sound Divine, and [was] a person of exemplary piety and Virtue: A great advocate for religious and Civil liberty; Universally esteemed by all that had the happiness of an Acquaintance with him.⁸

Doctor Mayhew his Youngest son, had an early sense of religion impressed upon his mind. From a Child he was made acquainted with the holy Scriptures. He had also a very early high sense of *liberty* as he himself expresses it in his excellent sermon upon the repeal of the Stamp Act, the last sermon that was published by him;⁹ "having from my Childhood / says he / by the good providence of my God, and the tender care of a good parent, now at rest with him been educated to the love of liberty, tho' not of licentiousness, which chaste and virtuous passion was still increased in me, as I advanced towards and

⁸ According to Perry Miller, Experience Mayhew was a "prophet of rationalism." *The New England Mind, from Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 430.

⁹ *The Snare Broken* (1766). Filled with libertarian sentiments, this important sermon served as an ideological arsenal for the Whigs during the pre-Revolutionary debates.

into Manhood: I would not, I cannot now, tho' past middle age, relinquish the fair object of my youthful affection *Liberty* whose Charms instead of decaying with Time in my eyes, have daily captivated me more and more." As the Dr. Fathers outward Circumstances were but scanty, he took to the business of farming. But it was soon discovered that he had a genius superior to such an employment, And as he expressed a great desire for learning, His Father sold a considerable part of his Estate, to enable him to give this promising son a liberal Education. He was accordingly prepared for College in the year 1740. While there he made an uncommon proficiency in his academical studies, well respected by all the students, and esteemed by the Governors of the College as the phenix of the Age; And at the same time remarkably serious and grave in his deportment, exemplary in his life and Conversation. Few if any made such rapid progress in learning as he did. There is no science, tho' ever so crabbed but what he could easily have made himself master of. His knowledge in Divinity was superiour to most of the young Gentlemen of his standing.

Before he had commenced Master of Arts, he had a Call to settle in the Ministry at Hingham. But before he gave an Answer, he had an invitation to settle in the Gospel Ministry, at the West Church in New Boston.

Upon his Acceptance of their call the Church appointed Wednesday the 20th of May 1747 for the solemnity of his ordination. But as he had then preached, but at two Churches in Boston, namely the first Church, or the old Brick, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Messrs. Foxcroft and Chauncy, and the Church in Brattle street under the care of the late Dr. Coleman and the Rev. Mr. Cooper;¹⁰ It was thought proper to send letters missive to those Churches, and to those only in Boston, and to three Other Churches in the Country without the least design to give any offence to the Associated Ministers.

¹⁰ Thomas Foxcroft, Charles Chauncy, Benjamin Coleman, Samuel Cooper.

The late Venerable Dr. Coleman read the letter directed to him and Mr. Cooper on the Lords day preceeding the day appointed for the Ordination. And after using his Influence with his Church to prevent their complying with the request of the West Church, they Voted not to send their Elders and Messengers to join in the Council. It will not be amiss here, as the Doctor's letter is short and curious to insert it verbatim. It is as follows—

Hond. Brethren,

Boston May 18, 1747

Yesterday in the Evening the letter you brought to me on the 15th Instant from the honourable and beloved West Church in Boston was communicated by me to the Church under our pastoral care in Brattle street, and after a short debate it was voted by a great majority in the negative not to send their Elders and Messengers, to join in Council and Act in the solemnity before you, proposed by the will of God on Wednesday next [illeg.] my hearty prayer to God is, to give you his gracious conduct and guidance, and that truth holiness and peace may ever flourish with you and yours.

I am Gentlemen Your most affectionate Brother
and humble Servant

Benjamin Coleman

To Deacon Henry Berry—
to be communicated

The good Dr. might have Omitted these words / *in the Negative* / to say the least, without spoiling the sense of his letter, for it is a certain maxim that Two negatives make an affirmative and consequently by a votes passing by a great Majority in the negative *not to send*, is equal to a votes passing by a great Majority *to send*. However not to dwell upon a Criticism, It is plain, the Church understood the Vote, for neither the Dr. Mr. Cooper or their Messengers appeared to give their kind assistance. The Rev. Mr. Foxcroft the Senior pastor of the

first Church in Boston, read his letter the same day, when contrary to his expectation, a vote was obtained to send. But when a nomination of the messengers was called for, some scrupled the Vote. Others tho' they were persuaded it was a clear Vote, desired that it might be made certain to satisfy those that questioned it upon which Mr. Foxcroft for reasons best known to himself left the Desk, in an abrupt manner, so that nothing was done by that Church. Upon the Day appointed for the solemnity there were only the Elders and Messengers of Two Churches that appeared. The late Rev. Mr. Experience Mayhew / Father to the Dr. / with his Messengers came by Water, but did not arrive until Wednesday Evening; had they arrived in season, the business would have been finished that day.

The West Church was now convinced from the unkind & unchristian behaviour of the Old Brick and Brattle Street Church, *that the hand of Joab was in it*; That the clergy of the town were determined if possible to prevent Mr. Mayhew's settlement. However as the West Church, had an exalted tho' not too high an Opinion of his great Capacity and Genius, of the soundness of his Faith, and the purity of his life, they were not discouraged, by this Opposition; But immediately invited seventeen Churches from the Neighbouring Towns to assist at the solemnity proposed to be by the will of God on the Day of June. Most of the Churches convened by their Elders and Messengers at the Time proposed and Mr. Mayhew was accordingly inducted into the sacred office, by a very large Ecclesiastical Council, who were unanimously satisfied as to his ministerial Abilities. And as he voluntarily declared to the Council, his hearty belief of the Doctrines of Grace as revealed in the holy Scriptures / the only rule of Faith / And his resolution by Gods grace to preach such doctrines and such only as should therein appear to be revealed: And as the Church declared, their being satisfied, with his principles, The Council had no difficulty in ordaining him.

They were Gentlemen of too much good sense and understanding, to make any human Creeds whatever the Standard of Othodoxy. Whether the Doctor's Brethren in Boston were offended with the West Church, for inviting the Neighbouring Churches from the Country, to the neglect of their association Or whether they suspected the Dr. of holding some doctrines contrary to their standard of Faith is uncertain. But it is evident they treated him with great coolness and indifference for some Time, and neither of them from that day to the day of his Death, invited him to preach for them, either at their respective congregations, or at the public lecture to the great hurt of Religion, and grief of the most sensible of their parishioners. These Rev. Gentlemen may possibly be able to account for their unchristian behaviour, but the world are not able to do it, especially when the difference between the Dr. and some of them in their religious sentiments, was very immaterial: And when the pulpits in the neighbouring Towns, were open to him and most of the pulpits of Boston were open to several Gentlemen of the Country, whose principles were known to the Boston Clergy to be exactly simular to Dr. Mayhew. Nay it is thought by many judicious persons, that if the Dr. had been settled in the Country, the Rev. association of Boston would not only have occasionally invited him to preach for them, when providentially in Town: But they would have looked upon themselves honoured to have had him in their pulpits. Nay some have thought that if the Dr. had been a Gentleman of only common abilities; His Brethren in Boston would have made no difficulty about receiving him as a Brother. The reason is too Obvious to need mentioning. But by the way it would be doing great Injury to the Character of Dr. Chauncy who was always a true and hearty friend to Dr. Mayhew,¹¹ and was very instrumental of

¹¹ Chauncy also was of the liberal wing of New England theology. See Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VI (Boston, 1942), 439-467. Conrad Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Boston, 1955), passim; Wright also devotes considerable space to Mayhew's theology.

his being settled in Boston; If it was not observed to his honour that he had an high opinion of Dr. Mayhew; And was not ashamed or afraid / as some of his friends were / to vindicate his character in all companies, where it was aspersed: And would not only have been exceeding glad, to have had him a member of their Association; but used his Endeavours for that purpose. But as there were some bigotted, Gentlemen, who warmly opposed it: The Dr. thought it not prudent to press the affair, to the Interruption of the general harmony that prevailed amongst them: Especially as Dr. Mayhew himself was quite indifferent as to the matter, not esteeming it as any honour to be one of that Body.

In June 1748 The Dr. at the desire of his Church and Congregation Opened a lecture during the Summer Season which was attended by Gentlemen of the first Character in Town and Country: And by the generality of the Clergy of the Town of Boston and of the Neighbouring Towns. His Audience was always crowded: The sermons which he preached upon these occasions gave universal satisfaction. When he had finished his lectures there was a general application made to him by gentlemen of figure sense and reputation, for a Copy of them for the press. Notwithstanding he from his great modesty declined appearing in print so early in life. Yet from the great importunity of his friends, he at last consented to it.

By these Sermons he gained an excellent Character both at home and abroad. They opened a door for a Correspondence with several Gentlemen of distinction in London and with clergymen of the first Character in England, Dignitaries of the Church of England not excepted, which Literary correspondence with most of them continued to their or his Death. As Dr. Chauncy well "observes these sermons were upon the subject of Liberty. His View in them was to assert and maintain, the right of private Judgment. Few have wrote more copiously, more elegantly, or more forceably, upon this interesting point. It was this performance that first spread his

fame, and rendered him conspicuous as a writer both here and abroad."¹²

They went thro' a second Edition in London. The late Bishop Hoadley¹³ in a letter to the late Dr. Avery¹⁴ expressed his great pleasure and Satisfaction, in reading said discourses, and desired the Dr. that the next Time he wrote to Mr. Mayhew, he would send him his thanks for those excellent sermons. They were admired by Gentlemen of the best taste in England, and by the Clergy in General. In short it was a surprise to many Gentlemen of learning, that America should produce such a Brilliant Genius.

There was soon an application made to the University at Abberdeen for the honours of that Society to be bestowed upon Mr. Mayhew. They no sooner read his sermons, than found him worthy of any honour they could give: and being strongly recommended to them, by Dr. Avery and several other Gentlemen of distinction, they honoured him with a Diploma for Dr. of Divinity in the Year.¹⁵

The Dr. in the year 1750 published a discourse upon the Martyrdom of King Charles. It is confessed that some Expressions in it / tho' true / are severe and satyrical, and great freedom is taken with the Clergy of the Church of England. But then in Justification of the Dr. it ought to be considered, what provocation was given for so much severity, and whether there was not a Necessity to rebuke them sharply: Especially as all scripture that is given by inspiration is profitable *for*

¹² Gray failed to include this uncomplimentary sentence: "If, in some instances, the Doctor's imagination got the better of his judgment, betraying him into too warm and satyrical expressions, the candid will be disposed to make all due allowances, considering his inexperience of the world, being then in his youthful days."

¹³ Benjamin Hoadley (1676-1761).

¹⁴ Benjamin Avery (?-1764), a theological liberal of London.

¹⁵ George Benson (1699-1762), Nathaniel Lardner (1694-1768), James Foster (1697-1753), and Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts also contributed to the "purchase" of a degree for Mayhew; honorary degrees from European universities were purchased rather than conferred in the eighteenth century.

Correction. It is as well known, as anything of this Nature can be known; that the Church Clergy of Boston, for years before the Dr. concerned himself with the subject, made it their constant practice, upon these Anniversary days, to deifie their *Mock Saint*, and to rave at if not curse the Dissenters, falsly charging them with being guilty of the Blood of their holy Martyr. And it is notorious that since the Dr. published this Sermon, we have heard no more railing from the Church pulpits; but in general their compositions upon these Occasions have been more as become the Gospel, than they use to be.

Now as there has been such a wonderful reformation of the Church Clergy, by means of the Doctor's sermon; I think he never had any reason to repent his publishing it. And it must be ungrateful in any of that communion to treat the Doctors Memory with indecency upon that Account. For altho' there was a considerable quantity of *Mercury* in the Emetick, the stubborn Malady of the patient required it.

This sermon went through several Editions in London Scotland and Ireland: And was generally approved of by the true friends of Liberty, and Enemies to Priestly power and the Laudean Faction.

In May 1754 at the Invitation of the honourable house of Representatives, he preached an Election sermon in the presence of his Excellency Governor Shirley, His Majestyes Council, and the honourable House of Representatives, which Sermon according to Custom, at the desire of the House was published. It was acknowledged by all that heard it, to be a very superior discourse. It soon had the honour of a London edition: The Authors of the Monthly Review for December 1754, made the following Remarks upon it:

“This discourse / say they / was printed by order of the House of Representatives, and bears the Marks of genius sense and judgment. The source of Civil power, and the great ends of government, are briefly treated upon: But the Arguments to

enforce Fidelity in exalted stations, are distinctly and copiously represented and urged. The Author speaks highly of the British constitution as a well ballanced scheme of liberty, and calls upon his Audience to exert their united powers, in a zealous defence of the rights and properties of the *American Colonies*, against the threatning and unprovoked hostilities of their ambitious and powerful neighbours."¹⁶

In the Year 1755 The Dr. published a Volume of Excellent and Judicious sermons upon *hearing the Word*, wherein several important Doctrines of Christianity as revealed in the holy scriptures were enforced with great reason and argument, and the [illeg.] doctrine of Justification, demonstrably refuted.

The aforementioned Authors of the monthly review make the following remarks upon them:

"That the candid reader will find his account in bestowing upon said sermons, an attentive perusal. There appears thro' the whole of them a spirit of manly freedom. The Author indeed differs widely from those who call themselves Othodox: But he does not as it is to be feared too many do, express his sentiments in phrases of studied Ambiguity, in order to conceal his real Opinion, and appear to believe, what he neither does or can believe. But laying aside all disguise, he speaks out openly and boldly, what he really thinks, acting herein the part of an honest man, and of a worthy advocate for that religion, which is the declared Enemy of every species of discrimination and hypocrisy. He declares, that he will not be even religiously scolded nor pitied, nor wept and lamented, out of any principles which he believes upon the Authority of Scripture. He says to that of all the good Fathers of the Church, even with that of the good Mothers added to it. Nor are his discourses only valuable for the free spirits they breath. There is a great deal of just reasoning and strong sense, to be

¹⁶ In the *Monthly Review*, XI (1754), 480, the final sentence reads: "threatning encroachments, insidious arts, and unprovoked hostilities"

met with in them. He is at great pains to shew and it is of the utmost importance to shew, the absurdity of founding our hopes of final happiness and acceptance with God, on the Othodoxy of our Faith, the merits and imputed righteousness of Christ, or indeed in anything seperate from purity of heart and life. And he combats very successfully some very dangerous notions, that prevail it is to be feared among too many, who call themselves by the Christian name, in regard to what the Scripture says concerning our being saved by Grace *being found in Christ*, not having our own righteousness, and being justified by Faith."¹⁷

In the year 1759 the Doctor published a Volume of sermons his design in which, as Dr. Chauncy justly observes "was to Answer the pleas of delaying sinners, and to excite them to speed in turning their feet into the paths of Gods Testimonies. He has said everything pertinent to the subject and in a serious pathetic, and yet most convincing manner. It were to be wished / adds the Dr. / discourses so well adapted to put men upon instant endeavours, that they may become religious were more generally attended to."

In the year 1763 he preached a number of Excellent sermons upon these words, *Young men also exhort to be soberminded*. The Congregation in general were much affected with these discourses and they made impressions upon the minds of the youth insomuch that upwards of Fifty of them under their own hands acknowledged to the Dr. the good they hoped that they had got by them; requesting him, that he would consent they should be published, that they may be made further useful to the world. Dr. Chauncy in his excellent sermon upon

¹⁷ Gray made some egregious errors of omission (and commission) in transposing this extract, the most serious being the opening sentence. The *Monthly Review*, XV (1756), 542-543, begins: "As these discourses were not composed with a view to be offered to the public; they have little to recommend them in point of accuracy or elegance; the candid Reader, however, will, notwithstanding this, find his account in bestowing upon them an attentive perusal."

the Death of Dr. Mayhew takes honourable notice of them. I shall here beg leave to use his own words. "My being thus particular / says he / in speaking to young people, upon the present Occasion, may be a word in season, as they make so great a part of this Congregation. And I rather thought there was a propriety in it; as I know your deceased pastor, was greatly concerned, that your minds might be in early life, impressed with a serious sense of God, and the principles of genuine Christianity. To this end he preached but a few years since a Course of Excellent sermons exhorting you the young people of his charge to be soberminded. It was at the desire of many of you signified in writing, that they were printed for your spiritual Edification. He is now dead, but still speaks to you with great Affection and solemnity in these discourses. I heartily recommend them to your serious frequent and considerate perusal. They are admirably well adapted, to inform your understanding, to awaken your passions and by all the motives, that can be fetched, from this world or Another, to engage your Endeavours, to begin a religious course of life betimes, and to go on it all your days. It will be your own fault if you are not perswaded, by what you will meet with in them, to make it the grand business of your life to get formed for a readiness for the world you are hastening to."

Dr. Mayhew preached and published six Thanksgiving sermons, upon the success of his Majesty's Arms in the reduction of Cape Breton Quebeck and Mountreal¹⁸ and several other occasional discourses. A Vein of good sense cogent reasoning and pathetic application, to the then present circumstances of the Times run thro' them all. They have their separate beauties.

Two discourses which he published upon one of our Annual Thanksgivings, upon these words *God is good to all and his tender mercies are over all his works*, esteemed by the best judges,

¹⁸ These brilliant British victories marked the high point of the American phase of the Seven Years' War.

to be excellent compositions, were very indecently attackt in the borrowed name of an obscure Clergyman.

I shall make no Other observation upon that persons scurrilous and false remarks, than what is made by the Rev. Dr. Chauncy. The Dr. says in a note to his sermon upon the death of the Rev. Dr. Mayhew:

“Two or three years ago a pamphlet appeared among us, under the name of an obscure person, without reputation, wrote either by himself or a certain officious lay gentleman of his acquaintance, ashamed or afraid to be known as its Author: In which the Dr. was represented as an Enemy to the *Atonement by Jesus Christ*. The real writer of that piece, whoever he was knew little of the Dr. or the true meaning of his works. He might as well have taxed any minister in the Town or province upon this head, for there was not one to my knowledge what was more firm and steady in his faith. As to this doctrine of the Gospel, he never had the least doubt about it.”

Mr. Apthorp¹⁹ Missionary at Cambridge in the year 1763 published a small pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts*, wherein he once for all endeavours to vindicate the society from the charge of misapplication of the monies designd for the propagating of the Gospel amongst the Heathen. This gave an opening to Dr. Mayhew, who at the desire of several worthy clergymen engaged to enter the Combate with this *forward Champion for the Church*; tho' with some regret well knowing that he should gain no great honour by defeating such a weak Adversary. The Dr. in answer to it published a large spirited pamphlet, Entitled “*Observations on the Charter and conduct of the society*”: wherein he demonstrably proved to the satisfaction of all unprejudiced persons, even of the Church of England perswasion, that there

¹⁹ East Apthorp.

had been great misapplication of the monies designed for the propagation of Christianity.²⁰

This piece put the high Church party into a great rage. Nothing was too bad to be said of the Dr. and the most scurrilous pieces were published upon this occasion, not with a design to enter into the merits of the Cause but to blacken his reputation amongst his Brethren: boldly charging him with denying all the Essential Doctrines of Grace, and even with *Deism* and *Atheism*. These Dirty libels were below his notice.

Sometime after a pamphlet was midwived into the World Entitled a Candid Examination etc.²¹ This piece was wrote with more good Manners than any of the former, but yet it was not so free from scurrility and gross undeserved reflections, as it was from solid reason and argument. The Main Aim and design of this performance seems to be also, to hurt the Doctor's Character amongst his dissenting brethren, boldly tho' falsely charging him with being unsound in the great doctrines of Justification by faith alone, Original sin, The Atonement of Christ, and the scripture doctrine of the Trinity. Nay the Author directly charges him with subverting the *fundamentals of religion*: And then in a solemn manner calls upon the Doctor's good friends, the *Ministers of Boston* to defend those glorious Doctrines. This piece tho' replete with bitter invectives had some appearance of reason and argument. The Dr. therefore by the advice of his friends thought it was his duty to take some notice of it. Accordingly he published a piece, Entitled a "Defence of the observations on the Charter and conduct of the society for the propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, against an Anonymous pamphlet falsely intituled a candid examination of Dr. Mayhews observations" which entirely silenced the

²⁰ The celebrated "Mayhew Controversy" is discussed in Arthur L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902), chap. 6. A partial list of the pamphlets that appeared are included in the bibliography in Appendix C.

²¹ The author was either Henry Caner or Samuel Johnson, most likely the former.

examiner, and all the scriblers of this side the water. They were now convinced that the Dr. was more than a match for them all: And therefore to prop up a sinking cause, foreign aid was requested. Accordingly in the year 1766, An Anonymous tract Entitled "An Answer to Dr. Mayhews Observations on the Charter and conduct of the society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts,[""] printed in London, made its appearance.

This Tract was wrote by a great Dignitary of the Church of England²² and to do justice to it, altho' there are some expressions in it, very severe and satirical, it is wrote in the main with a good spirit, and shews the Author to be a Gentleman and indeed it was the only thing wrote on that side the question that demanded a serious answer.

The Doctor altho' almost tired with the Controversy thought he would once more engage, especially with such a respectable Dignitary. He therefore after it was reprinted here published his remarks on said Tract, being the second defence of his observation; wherein he treated his opponent with all delicacy and good manners that a Gentleman of so exalted a station deserved. Altho' all that the Dr. wrote upon this dispute was highly approved of, this was esteemed as the most masterly performance: And it put an End to the Controversy. All the Doctors pieces were reprinted in London, and gained him general applause. I shall say nothing further upon this subject, but only use the words of Dr. Chauncy in his aforementioned sermon, upon the death of Dr. Mayhew:

"It was highly offensive to him / Dr. Mayhew / when he perceived in any an evident breach of trust especially if the trust related to the things of Religion and Another world. And as he had upon his mind a clear and full conviction, in common with many Others, that this breach of trust was justly chargeable upon a certain respectable society at home tho'

²² Archbishop Thomas Secker. See Cross, *Anglican Episcopate*, 151-152.

they might be led into it thro' repeated misinformation from their correspondents here. It was this that gave rise to the several pieces he wrote upon this subject in which he has honoured himself served these Churches and prevented the application of much of that Charity for the Propagation of Episcopacy, which was intended for the propagation of Christianity. He has received acknowledgments from England on Account of these writings and from some of the Episcopal persuasion, who were fully with him in his sentiments, upon the main point he had in View." And the Dr. might have added with great truth, that he received thanks from most of the Clergy in the Town of Boston and from the Clergy in general thro' the Province.

But this great and good man, was not suffered to continue by reason of Death: for it so pleased him who worketh all things according to the Council of his own Will, to call this dear servant of his to himself on the 9th of July 1766, after a few days confinement to the great inexpressible loss of his consort and two small children: His Church and Congregation, The Town and the whole land. However tho' it is their loss, it is his gain. He is gone to receive the rewards of a Faithful minister of Jesus Christ.

His Death caused a general lamentation thro' Town and Country. The Clergy of the Town were under great concern when he lay at the point of death, and were very earnest in their supplications to Almighty God, that if it were consistent with his holy Will, his precious life might be preserved. And it would be great breach of Charity, to say that they did not sincerely lament his death. The notice they took of it and the great tho' Just Character they gave the Dr. in their sermons upon this Occasion, must convince the World that they really esteemed him as a great and good Man, and that they looked upon his death, as a frown of providence upon the whole land. It is possible that some of them might then reflect upon their

Conduct toward their dear Brother, their consciences reproaching them, that from the cursed fear of Man that bringeth a snare, they should neglect a Gentleman of such superior knowledge and abilities, and whom they all allowed to be exemplary in his life. It is well known that he did not materially differ from the majority of them, in any one essential doctrine of the Gospel. It is true he differed from most of them in explaining the Doctrine of the Trinity, tho' some of them were with the Dr. in his explanation. And he differed no more from the generality of them than he did from that Mother of Harlots, the Anti-christian Church of Rome. At the same Time he perfectly harmonized with the Apostles and primitive Christians. And there is no doubt but that the glorious Time will come, when all Anti-christian doctrines will be universally exploded and the Doctrine of the unrivaled supremacy of the Father, be universally believed.

It is certain peoples Eyes begin to be Opened upon this important point. And Christianity was never so much preached in its Original simplicity and purity in this Country, as it has been since Dr. Mayhew appeared so bold and open in the defence of it. Many of the young preachers, as well as those who have been some time settled in the Ministry, have adopted the Doctor's generous sentiments in Religion, which are no other, than what are clearly taught in the holy Scriptures. And Creeds and Confessions grow daily more and more out of Fashion. I hope I need make no Apology here, for borrowing a few Extracts from Two sermons, preached by the Rev. and learned Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay. Speaking of the Dr. / he says / "He must be present in the minds of my hearers, while I was describing the disciple whom Jesus loveth: and they may have observed some resemblance in the principal lineaments of the portrait. We have all the reason which a Judgment of Charity requires to remember and speak of him as a disciple whom Jesus loved. His good conversation in Christ is the solid ground of our hope concerning him, that he was one of those

whom our lord condescends to call his friends. Dr. Mayhew was a man of uncommon worth clearly distinguished from the most of his Brethren, in the eminency of personal accomplishments, which render one peculiarly amiable. More such recommending qualifications met in him, than are ordinarily to be found in One Man, in One Christian, in One Minister. His intellectual power and literary attainments were very superior. He had a genius capable of most considerable advances in every branch of useful learning: and was an excellent scholar. Our Ascended saviour, who received gifts for men to furnish them unto the work of the ministry, did highly favour him, with a large measure thereof and honour him to do abundant signal service therewith, in the Cause of liberty and Religion, which I was goin[g] more particularly to mention. But so much has already been better said, by those who were more able to do justice to so great a character; that it becomes me to refrain my Mouth from speaking out of the abundance of the heart, which overflows with affectionate regard to his memory. I only remark that in those things, be they greater Capacity for or Articles of serviceableness to the Interest of Christs Kingdom, wherein he excelled Others; he did bear peculiar marks of honour, and was on the supposition (which is reasonable to be made) of his being a sincere disciple of Christ—distinguished from them in his masters regard, and ought to be remembered by us as a Disciple whom Jesus loved. And my Brethren the people of his charge, the great love you always expressed to your pastor, will not suffer you easily to forget him. Your faithful memories will be often representing to you, how amiable the dear man of God was in the brightness of his Gifts and lustre of his Virtues, in the regularity and gravity of, yet pleasantness of his Christian conversation, and in the whole shining course of his sacred Ministration among you. A special help and advantage to your remembring of him, and how you have received and learned of him, you have by his printed works, which are more than any ministers

in the land of his standing. And are more honorary and durable than pillars of marble, erected and inscribed to his praise. And can we ever think or speak of him, and not be ready to adopt and apply the Angels encomium addressed to a prophet of old. *O Man greatly Beloved*. But the sweet remembrance of him, which love should cherish and preserve in us, to the honour of Christ, who loved him, and made him so lovely, and to our own spiritual improvement, carries this sadning thought in it, that he is absent from us, alas, is dead and gone, and has left us sorrowing deeply that we shall see his face no more. The more Jesus and we loved him, our loss of him is the greater, and the more to be deplored.”²³

In another sermon upon the same occasion Mr. Gay expresses himself as follows—

“This Christian society walking in the Order of the Gospel and worshiping God in the beauties of holiness, must needs appear with a distinguished lustre while it was crowned with the light of Apostolical Doctrine glittering in the ministry of the excellent Dr. Mayhew. The radiance of such a star, was the great ornament and delight of this Church, One star differeth from another star in glory. Our eyes at a distance were struck with the magnitude and brightness of this, as it arose here and shone with encreasing splendor, and prevailing strength against all attempts to darken it and *cast it to the Earth*. The light of it is gone forth into the world, dispelling the darkness of Ignorance error and sin, illuminating and chearing the minds of all, that are not shut and barred with prejudice against it. But as so bright and benign a star was fixed in the Crown of this Church, you had the greater benefit

²³ Gray expunged this statement, presumably because of its negative implications: “If he was mistaken in any points of the Christian doctrine, (and is there a man nearer to us than Rome, who will dare to say, that he is not so himself) yet none have cause to impute this to his want of love of the truth, or neglect of impartial diligent inquiry after it, or pleasure he had in unrighteousness; and thence not to allow him room in the love of Christ and their charity, who by the conformity of his temper and life to the precepts of the gospel, hath left us the most substantial proof of his sincerity.”

of its pleasant light, and salutary influence. Truly light is sweet and a pleasant thing must it be unto you, to have that of the glorious Gospel diffusing upon your souls, by so instructive a ministry as you sat under. How enlightened have your minds been with the doctrines of Grace and salvation preached to you so free from that obscurity, in which by human schemes they are to often involved”

I might here with propriety subjoin the character given of Dr. Mayhew by his good Friend Dr. Chauncy. But as I have taken several extracts from his sermon wherein he has spoken honourably of three volumes of the Doctor's works, and strongly recommended them to the world In which sermons Dr. Mayhew had delivered his mind with great freedom upon the Unity of the Godhead: I shall content myself with the following extract. Dr. Chauncy after his giving Dr. Mayhew an exalted and just character adds:

“But what is more than all that has been offered, he was in the judgment of those who best knew him, a man of real piety and true devotion, an upright and sincere disciple and servant of Jesus Christ. Was it proper to mention the Time manner and circumstances of his becoming possessed of that Faith in God and his son Jesus Christ, which purified his heart, and became in him an habitual powerful principle of virtuous Action, I doubt not but even those would entertain a good opinion of him as a real Christian, who may have been greatly wanting in their candor and charity towards him, because in some points his thoughts did not agree with theirs. I have abundant reason to believe from what I knew of him, that it was his great endeavour to live in all good conscience towards god and man. I have only to add / says the Dr. / as Dr. Mayhew was a friend to these Churches and their able advocate, especially in regard to that Liberty wherewith our Lord Jesus Christ has made us free As he was a friend to the College and has exerted his powers to my knowledge in defence of its repu-

tation and interest, and as he was a Friend to the Country in general, entertaining an high opinion of the more special Errand, upon which our progenitors came over into this then desolate wilderness, and has vigorously laid himself out in opposing any design that might have been formed to subvert it, His death in the vigor of his days height of his usefullness may justly be esteemed a great and public Loss, calling for universal Lamentation."

I have now done with what I originally desined namely to give a short sketch of the life and character of that great and good man, the late Rev. and learned Dr. Mayhew. If anything has been said that seems to bear hard upon the Clergy of the Town of Boston, I shall only say that their behaviour to the Dr. would not admit of its being wholly passed over in silence.

More might have been said to their disadvantage consistent with Truth, but as they have of late (some of them at least) discovered a better Temper of mind, it is not thought proper to say anthing that might irritate them, especially as some of the present clergy, are now of a more Catholic way of thinking, than they were at the Time of Doctor Mayhews Ordination.

Membership List

Life Members

Charles Cortez Abbott
Gordon Abbott
Horace Porter Abbott
Nathaniel Wales Abbott
Edward W. Ackley
Douglas Payne Adams
Weston Woollard Adams
Elijah Adlow

Mrs. Arthur M. Allen
George Alpert
Daniel E. Ames
Charles Francis Angell
Julian Danforth Anthony
Gleason Leonard Archer
George Robert Armstrong
Henry Russell Atkinson
Elisha Lathrop Avery
Frederick Ayer
Charles Lincoln Ayling

Gage Bailey
Harry Louis Bailey
William L. Bailey
Raymond Charles Baldes
Laurence Hardy Bankart
Gordon Thaxter Banks
Mrs. Charles Miller Barker
Charles Lowell Barlow
Joseph Barth
Charles Foster Batchelder, Jr.
William H. Batum
Elliston H. Bell
Floyd Lee Bell

Stoughton Bell
George A. Benway
Richard Arthur Berenson
Edward Gammons Besse
Eliot Bicknell
Edward L. Bigelow
Roger Billings
Mrs. Francis W. Bird
Harold Sterling Bird
Charles Aloysius Birmingham
Mrs. Taylor Black
Ernest Hyde Blake
George Baty Blake
John M. Bleakie
Charles Payson Blinn, Jr.
Frank Tucker Bobst
Miss Theresa M. Bohnenberger
Christian Eckhardt Born
Mark Bortman
Ralph G. Boyd
Joseph Alexander Boyer
Joseph Gardner Bradley
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Spencer B. Montgomery
Robert Lowell Moore
Roger Allan Moore
Alva Morrison
Miss C. Jane Morrison
Francis B. Morrison
Ralph Edwin Morrison
Mrs. Cabot J. Morse
Miss J. G. Morse
Mrs. Everett Morss, Jr.
Sherman Morss
Jesse W. Morton
Warren Motley
James T. Mountz
Werner Mueller
Mrs. Stephen P. Mugar
John Francis Mulhern, Jr.
D. Joseph Mullane
William Joseph Mulligan
George Saltonstall Mumford, Jr.
Robert John Munce
Russell Murphy

Chauncey Cushing Nash
Edwin B. Newman
Mrs. Edwin B. Newman
Mrs. Leon Newman
Francis Aloysius Nolan
David W. Noonan
George Norton Northrop

Daniel J. O'Brien
Daniel Theodore O'Connell
Joseph Francis O'Connell, Jr.
William N. Oedel
Stewart G. Orr
Leonard Osler
Miss Mary Otis
William F. Otis

L. Gerard Paine
Stephen Paine
Richard Stuart Palmer
Charles Edwards Park
Amory Parker
Mrs. George S. Parker
Claude Eldred Patch
Gilbert Russell Payson
William Lincoln Payson
Fred E. Pereira
Elliott Perkins
Richard Perry
William Hartwell Perry
Peter D. Peterson
Mrs. Franklin T. Pfaelzer
Asa E. Phillips, Jr.
Philip Phillips
Charles Wills Phinney
Mrs. C. Eaton Pierce
Myron Everett Pierce
Marshall R. Pihl
Edgar Benjamin Pinto
Charles Gilbert Plimpton
Mrs. Carlyle Pope
Cedric W. Porter
Mrs. C. F. Potter
George Glen Potter
Mrs. John Briggs Potter

William Sutton Potter
Mrs. James H. Powers
John E. Powers
L. Mortimer Pratt, Jr.
Jerome Preston
Richard Preston
Morton Peabody Prince
Thomas E. Proctor
Robert Morton Prouty
C. Phillips Purdy
Mrs. C. Phillips Purdy
George Putnam, Jr.

William Henry Quain
Joseph Cornelius Quinn

Arthur Gorham Rand
Edwin H. Rand
William McNear Rand
Bergen B. Rapalyea
Jerome Lyle Rappaport
Leslie Gilbert Rawding
William F. Ray
George Madison Reaves
E. Benjamin Redfield, Jr.
Charles Albert Reed
Gerald Stillman Reed
Duncan E. Reid
John Francis Reid
William James Reid
Frank William Reilly
Simon Reiss
Mrs. Howard C. Reith
Paul Revere
Alan Britton Rice
Thomas E. P. Rice
Mrs. Thomas E. P. Rice

Charles Oliver Richardson
George S. Richardson
George Richmond
Miss Mabel Louise Riley
Robert Morrill Robbins
Miss Alice Leavitt Robinson
Dwight P. Robinson, Jr.
Warren Leonard Robinson
Albert Wright Rockwood
Ora C. Roehl
L. Robert Rolde
Howard Frank Root
Manuel Charles Rosenfield
Martin D. Rosenfield
J. Clifford Ross
Mrs. J. Clifford Ross
Mrs. Arthur Rotch
James M. Rothwell
George Barker Rowell
Stanley Miller Rowland
C. Adrian Rubel
H. W. Dwight Rudd
Charles Beecher Rugg
Mrs. Gertrude Runkle
Gordon Barclay Russell
James F. Ryan
John Ryan

Paul Joseph Sachs
Jacob Saliba
Chenery Salmon
John L. Saltonstall, Jr.
Nathaniel Saltonstall
Alfred C. Sandberg
Walter Edgar Sands
Ann Sargent
Joseph Savenor

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Frank Sawyer | Miss Marie F. Spang |
| Carl N. Schmalz | Josiah A. Spaulding |
| Donald Scott | Henry W. Spencer |
| Joseph H. Seaman | Percy LeBaron Spencer |
| Edwin Buckingham Sears | Raymond Spinney |
| Henry Latimer Seaver | Howard B. Sprague |
| David Jerome Seder | Russell Colesworthy Squires |
| Mrs. Muriel Livermore Seward | Philip Henry Stafford |
| George Crossman Seybolt | Gordon S. Stanley |
| Haskell Shapiro | Raymond Walker Stanley |
| Hirsh Sharf | Chester Chandler Steadman |
| Albion W. Shaw | Herbert L. Stein |
| Oscar M. Shaw | Marvin A. Stern |
| Mrs. Sohier Shaw | Arthur W. Stevens |
| William Leonard Shearer, III | Edward J. Stevens |
| Mrs. O. Herbert Sherbrooke | Mrs. Frank H. Stewart |
| Albert Case Sherman, Jr. | William D. Stewart |
| Edward Danforth Sherman | Zadok Lyman Stiles |
| Elizabeth Shine | James E. Stinson |
| Murray Edward Sholkin | Harry Galpin Stoddard |
| Karl Vincent Short | Clement Kimball Stodder |
| Louise Shortell | Arthur Parker Stone |
| Richard S. Shreve | Laurence H. Stone |
| David R. Sigourney | Robert G. Stone |
| Miss Olive Simes | Miss Thelma Mildred Stone |
| Mrs. Elsie Grosvenor Gleason Sloan | Theodore L. Storer |
| John Bolton Sloggett | Charles Moorfield Storey |
| Mrs. Austin Smith | Gordon Leroy Story |
| Eric Parkman Smith | Henry S. Streeter |
| Everett Ware Smith | Mrs. Bengt Stromquist |
| Julian John Smith | Mrs. Willoughby H. Stuart, Jr. |
| William B. Smith | John O. Stubbs |
| Edward Rowe Snow | Robert Shaw Sturgis |
| Mrs. John H. Snyder, Jr. | Daniel A. Sullivan, Jr. |
| Roger Philip Sonnabend | Melvin B. Summerfield |
| Lamar Soutter | Kenneth Reynold Sutherland |
| Joseph Peter Spang, Jr. | Joseph L. Sweeney |

Charles Crowell Swett
Elijah Kent Swift
H. LeRoy Swimm
Thomas Ward Symons

Fritz Bradley Talbot
Mrs. Fritz B. Talbot
Edward Lauren Tappert
Cecil Taylor
William O. Taylor, II
Albert Bernard Terkelsen
Gordon B. Thayer
Sherman R. Thayer
Nelson W. Thomas
Barton J. Thompson
Lovell Thompson
Peter H. Thompson, Jr.
Mrs. George H. Timmins
Rudolf Toch
Carroll William Toohey
Byron G. Tosi
Mrs. Byron G. Tosi
Richard Lockwood Tower
Charles Townsend
Miss Gertrude Townsend
Prescott Townsend
Richard F. Treadway
Robert Treat
William V. Tripp, Jr.
Bayard Tuckerman, Jr.
Frederic Alonzo Turner
Miss Clara Mildred Tuttle
Roger B. Tyler

Austin O'Grady Uhl

Mrs. Allard M. Valentine

Mrs. John W. Valentine
Eric Verrill
Herman Vershbow
John A. Volpe
Theodore H. VonKamecke, Sr.
Seth Morton Vose

Mrs. Clara Wadsworth
William Wadsworth
Richard Wait
Mrs. Richard V. Wakeman
Samuel Wakeman
William A. Waldron
Alice S. Wales
Quincy W. Wales
Mrs. Barbara B. Walker
Edgar T. P. Walker
C. Russell Walton
Harry A. Wansker
G. Philip Wardner
Caleb W. Warner
Sydney Horace Lee Washington
John Francis Watson
Mrs. Edwin S. Webster
Wilfred B. Wells
Charles Milford Werly
Albert West
William E. Westman
George Franklin Weston, Jr.
Mrs. Jules L. Wettlaufer
James Vincent Whalen
Stephen Wheatland
Miss Adaline Emerson Wheeler
Dixon B. White
Erskine Norman White
Mrs. Eva Whiting White
H. Bowen White

Josephine A. White

L. P. White

Paul Dudley White

Walter Muir Whitehill

Alexander Whiteside

Mrs. Lyman F. Whitney

John M. Whittaker

Robert Mason Whittemore

Henry T. Wiggin

Albert Carlyle Wilkinson

Edward Henry Willey

Alexander W. Williams

Barrett Williams

Mrs. Barrett Williams

Harold P. Williams

Marion Williams

Mrs. Moses Williams

Mrs. Oliver E. Williams

Roger D. Williams

Mrs. Alfred Willman

Allan J. Wilson

Francis Stone Wilson

Harold George Wilson

Frank H. Wing

Andrew N. Winslow, Jr.

Mrs. Alexander Winsor

Frederic Winthrop

Mrs. Jacob Wirth

Mrs. Herbert A. Wood

Mrs. Kenneth H. Wood

A. Vernon Woodworth, Jr.

William H. Woolner

Paul Ingraham Wren

Francis S. Wyner

Rudolph H. Wyner

Dane Yorke

B. Loring Young

Thomas R. Young

Deaths

1960

Life Members

Ralph Sylvester Bartlett
Miss Helen Guild
Ralph Hornblower
Mark Anthony DeWolfe Howe
Francis Xavier Hurley
Dugald C. Jackson
Joseph Kaplan
Joseph E. O'Connell

Miss Margaret Perry
Mrs. George Newton Proctor
Orville Nash Purdy
Charles F. Rittenhouse
Miss Clara Endicott Sears
Lester Ruthven Smith
Miss Mary Robinson Underwood
Bradford Williams

Annual Members

William H. Best
Philip E. Coyle
Harold Everett Fellows
William I. Frothingham
David W. Guiry
Mrs. Russell Howell
Frederick Manley Ives
Jacob Joseph Kaplan

George Alexander Kyle
Mrs. Percival H. Lombard
Mrs. Abraham Myerson
Arthur K. Pope
Mrs. Robert Morton Prouty
Mrs. George J. Putnam
Alfred Rogers
Henry Richardson Shepley, Jr.

A Message to Members

An organization charged with continuing responsibility for the preservation of historical material related to its city must of course enjoy financial stability to reach its aims. The quickest way to achieve this is by gifts and bequests of money or securities; the surest way is by steadily attracting new members to its rolls.

People join the Bostonian Society, take part in its work, and ultimately move on, necessitating a constant, year-by-year effort to insure that those who leave are replaced. Our Society has a most effective method of enabling members to encourage others to join, simple, and involving none of the time and effort of personal solicitation. All a member has to do to be a real factor in our progress is to jot down the names and addresses of men or women who would, presumably, be sympathetic to the aims of the Society. If such a name does not appear on our membership list, or among names of people recently invited, the Secretary of the Society sends an attractive, interesting and dignified invitation to join us. The invitation is issued by the Membership Committee, with no mention of the person who has suggested the name.

Will you please take this easy way of helping to forward the interests of the Society? You may rest assured that your co-operation will be greatly appreciated, and that you will be qualifying as a constructive member of a group which we believe is doing wholesome work for the community.

RALPH M. EASTMAN

Chairman, Membership Committee

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP is \$5.00 a year

LIFE MEMBERSHIP is \$50.00

Either deductible from Federal Income Tax

There is no initiation fee

Gifts and Bequests

The income of the Bostonian Society is insufficient for the carrying out of many worthwhile projects. It has been suggested that members might be interested in helping with some of the following:

1. Repairing the organ on which Oliver Holden (1765-1844), one of the pioneers of American psalmody, composed his most popular hymn tune "Coronation." It could be put into playable condition.
2. Cleaning of some of the more valuable paintings. Anyone who has seen the newly cleaned painting of Boston harbor by Robert Salmon, now hanging in Representatives Hall will appreciate the urgency of giving similar care to other pictures in the collection.
3. Repainting of two of the first floor rooms, which the City of Boston is unable to do at this time for lack of funds.

Contributions for any of these specified purposes, or to general funds, would be welcome. Members making their wills are reminded that a suitable form of bequest is:

I give and bequeath to THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, in the City of Boston, the sum of _____ dollars for the general use and purpose of the said Society.

